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INDIAN AND METIS AND POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENT AS ETHNIC GROUPS

by

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In order to study the possible development of Indian and Metis as ethnic groups, I realize that most of you are partisans shall we say, and that you are deeply involved in field work, and consequently, when you come here you are looking for solutions: answers to your problems. I do not venture to say that what I propose to offer you will be a ready-made solution. What I intend to do is simply to share with you some of the thoughts that I have been playing with over the last few years, after quite an extensive study of our Canadian society, through traveling, interviewing, and so on, and very close contact with Indian people across the country at all levels of development and education. There is nothing exactly scientific about my paper, although a good deal of it is confirmed by research. Most of the individual facts quoted are known to everyone. Only the organization of these facts and the comparison with Indian and Metis data are the personal contribution of the author. I hope this presentation will bring you material for discussion, perhaps even a certain amount of guidance and inspiration in the work you are doing. I believe this can be so because of the community development approach which is the policy of your group.

Let us recall that Canada, like most other countries in the Americas, is an immigrant country: except for Indians and Eskimos (who, originally, were immigrants, too), its total population is made up of individuals whose ancestors, past or immediate, if not themselves, migrated to this country in the last three centuries.

The first ones came from various parts of France, mostly from Normandy, and from the very beginning, rooted themselves along the shores of the St. Lawrence up to the Great Lakes. They developed into the largest and perhaps most homogeneous ethnic group in the country, adjusting to their new environment to such an extent as to develop a culture genuinely indigenous, though preserving many of the fundamental traits of the pre-revolution French people, particularly the language and philosophy of life. It must not be forgotten, however, that there are really two ethnic groups of French origin in Canada: the French-Canadians proper, living mostly in Quebec and eastern Ontario, and the Acadians in the Maritimes. Both have shot off colonies elsewhere in Canada, particularly the French-Canadians, whose settlements, parishes, schools, colleges and other institutions, can be found in every province west of Quebec. The Acadian expansion westward is of more recent date and has not yet been extensive enough to show significant development.

Following the conquest of Acadian and New France by the British, English-speaking settlers from the American colonies moved in, particularly after the American Revolution, and formed the loyal nucleus of what is now English Canada. The latter has practically ceased receiving new blood from its own twin original stock, English and the Scotch, with subsequent and substantial contributions from the Irish.

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Both French and English societies developed as majority groups in their respective areas of original occupation, each with offshoots of the other within its territory. The English-speaking groups within French Canada however, always enjoyed a privilege position which their French counterparts in Upper Canada and elsewhere never knew. Both majority groups reached almost full statehood a hundred years after the Conquest, the French in Quebec, the English in Ontario, the Atlantic Provinces and in British Columbia.

Territorially localized ethnic group settlement went on during the whole 19th century, with both French and English Canadians settling on the Prairies and the latter taking the upperhand in shaping the three new provinces, notwithstanding the efforts of French-speaking Metis in the Red River and Batoche districts. Other European settlers also came, groupwise, on the Prairies, dotting them with homogeneous communities of German, Ukrainian, Polish and other ethnic background.

Though both French and English fairly early developed cities and towns of homogeneous character - some of which still retain this character - the industrialization of Canada brought about the appearance of truly cosmopolitan communities into which can be found individuals whose forefathers or themselves came from practically every country that has sent immigrants to Canada in the last hundred years. These individuals group themselves in various ways, according to their ethnic origin.

Historically then, three categories of ethnic groups have experienced development in Canada: 1 - the two large basic groups, the English and the French organized at all levels and joining hands as partners in the national government: 2 - the homogeneous localized ethnic communities in rural areas: finally, 3 - the voluntary groupings of individuals of common ancestry in our larger cities and towns.

For the purposes of this paper and discussion, we will take a look at the second and third categories of ethnic groups, referring to the first only occasionally and for comparison.

First, therefore, let us consider the ethnic local community or municipality, in rural areas, and its evolution. Such communities were originally made up of settlers of common extraction (French, German, etc.) who came to Canada to start a new life, most of them at occupations they had learned back home: farming, cattle raising, trades and store-keeping. From the beginning, they controlled their own affairs locally providing their community with economic, professional, social and administrative services and activities. One of them was store-keeper, another post-master, another carpenter, another mayor, etc. Presumably at the beginning a certain amount of technical assistance from the outside was required in order to learn and follow the laws and regulations of the new country. It was not long, however, before members of the ethnic community could fulfill all public offices within the local community. Political, economic, professional, religious and social leaders, and many private citizens interacted with their counterpart in other communities and with various officials of the provincial government in practically all spheres of human endeavour. In other

words, a Canadian-based and Canadian-structured community was organized, but by people who, because of their common ethnic back-ground, did so in their own way and as best as they could.

The school was originally staffed by "outsiders" of course, but under the control of the local community, through the school board. Teachers were presumably Anglo-Canadians who came to help children of the settlers become more Canadian. Eventually, it was possible, if so desired, to staff the school with teachers of similar ethnic background. During the first and probably second generation, the language spoken at home was inevitably the mother tongue. The younger generation learned English in school and was usually strongly encouraged to do so, since presumably most individual citizens, and the community as a whole, wanted to become more and more Canadian and English language was the avenue. Children helped their parents learn some English and to familiarize themselves with things Canadian, reading the interpreting English-printed texts, directions, recipes and so forth. This role, thoroughly accepted by the grown-ups, constituted a definite break with the global cultural transmission inherited from the home country and reinforced in these children their motivation towards becoming "more Canadian." Nevertheless, the children literally acquired a dual culture and quite naturally. The homeland culture was honored through language, songs, festivals, religious rituals. It was probably quite ostensibly respected in the classroom by the teachers who were employed by the community. At least, it could not be ignored nor ridiculed. If anywhere in the course of studies, reference was made or should have been made to the mother country, the parents or some other members of the ethnic community were able to complete the work of the school and enrich the ongoing learning experience of the children with materials, historical and otherwise from the mother culture. However, through the school and through the overall administrative and economic structure of the community, these children were more "canadianized" than their parents and thus prepared to move into other communities of a different ethnic origin. Not only could they speak English, they were also familiar with the institutions common to all Canadian communities. If they cared to, they could move elsewhere, to further their education or take up employment. Wherever they went, they brought to the other Canadian communities and institutions a substantial amount of cultural contribution other than English or French. Once in another community, they did not necessarily latch on to ethnic groups of the same background. When they did, however, they often provided very essential services, professional, economic, recreative and interpretative to newcomers of the same ethnic origin.

From the beginning, consequently, the localized ethnic community was able to bring up its next generation without any minority complex, pushing them closer to the emerging Canadian culture and at the same time enabling them to win respect for the original mother culture and to, consciously or not, contribute something from this mother culture to the developing Canadian way of life. Inevitably, second generation Canadians and their immediate descendants bring a different approach and outlook to problems common to all Canadians in every area of human activity: artistic, scientific, commercial, industrial, social, recreational and political. Through these different ideas and attitudes and skills, they broaden the operational basis of the developing local, regional and national culture. One has only to take a look at the evolution and contribution of Ukrainian, Polish and German communities on the Prairies to

realize what has gone on.

With time, the localized ethnic communities have become more English or French speaking, partly through more rapid transportation, radio, movies and television, partly through marriage with Canadians of other ethnic origin. Yet, it carried on a good deal of the invisible elements of the original culture thus constantly producing a type of Canadian different from that of the majority group. The local community still imports ideas, literature and sometimes human resources from the original old country, all of which it processes and then injects into the Canadian cultural stream. It is like an antenna that collects new messages for the new mother country. Its younger generation still learns a good deal about the history and culture of the forefathers, their contributions to western and universal history and civilization, but it also hears of the achievements of Canadian "graduates" from the same ethnic community. As a result, most Canadians of neither English nor French extraction enjoy a double-barrel pride as ethnic and Canadians.

In brief, settlement in homogeneous ethnic communities has enabled thousands of immigrants and their descendants to "canadianize" themselves at their own rate, without any loss to their ethnic pride and with substantial contribution and enrichment of our total cultural stream. These communities were able, more or less consciously, to select whatever cultural tradition or trait was best to be preserved for life in the new country and eliminate impractical ones. In other words, they were able to compete with other communities in producing better Canadians and a better way of life, the latter not being a carbon copy of the way of life of the two large majority groups. In this respect, I fully endorse the statement made by Douglas Fisher in the House of Commons two years ago reminding French-Canadians that they did not have a monopoly on genuine Canadianism and patriotism and referring to our Canadians of other European origin who have adjusted to this country, contributed to its way of life and seen Canada in a different way.

If we now move to the second category of non-English ethnic community, namely the urban type, we find that it has historically played a similar role though to a less formal and articulate degree. Throughout history, all the larger cities of the world have had ethnic districts, quarters or streets. From the sheer need for togetherness, it is only natural for people of common origin, be it ethnic, religious or otherwise, to get together, to chat their own language or dialect, to inform one another about other members of the ethnic community (local, Canadian, or natural to reminisce about the old country or boast about its past and present achievements in various fields (political, scientific, artistic, etc.), to discuss some of its problems, its future or those of the new country, more particularly to discuss common problems of adjustment in the new socio-economic environment. Even when there are no immediate and urgent problems to solve, people of common ethnic background enjoy this togetherness for itself, as a necessary relief from the pressures of adjustment. This is true of all immigrants everywhere, including Canadians travelling abroad or residents of one province or city finding themselves together in another province or community. This first function takes place naturally, informally, constantly, in private homes (provided of course there is room for many), in restaurants

churches, hotels, at the occasion of weddings, funerals, the arrival of a newcomer or of a distinguished visitor, at local theatres, schools and universities.

The second function of ethnic grouping in urban communities is to provide mutually practical help in adjusting to new conditions: employment, trade, housing, finances, buying furniture and other equipment, or securing food and other products from, or as in, the old country. This function can take place informally, though not without a certain amount of residential concentration so that exchange and contacts can be frequent. Otherwise, it is more often than not promoted through an association, a club, guild, parish, etc. Initially, the association will be multi-purpose and provide a variety of economic and social services, formally or otherwise. As it increases in size, however, it often happens that these services take on an institutional form of their own such as a credit union, an athletic club, etc.

With the specialized form of immigration that has been promoted by Canada since World War II, or simply through ethnic leadership and cooperation, there has also been a concentration of ethnic manpower in certain specific occupations such as masonry, construction, gardening, landscaping, etc. The professional or occupational grouping along ethnic lines together with the other institutional and special-service grouping just mentioned, provides a group integration process somewhat similar to that of the localized ethnic community. The leaders of these functional organizations meet leaders from other ethnic and non-ethnic organizations of some nature at the urban level and thus provide an area of group cooperation, competition and integration. As soon as this penetration at the urban level is successful, the ethnic leaders move higher and further in the national social hierarchy and pull up to the first level an increasing number of his fellow-compatriots who, though they become his lieutenants, increase their own range of contacts with the larger community. This wedge-wise penetration from one level to another is quite evident in the world of sports, for instance. It is also visible in religious bodies, political structures, commercial undertakings and industrial ventures. Witness for instance the increasing number of mayors, M.P.s, judges and now a member of the federal cabinet, who are of Ukrainian or Italian background, without forgetting that this pattern applies to the French-speaking outside of Quebec and the English-speaking in Quebec itself.

A third function of ethnic urban grouping and association is the maintenance and diffusion of what is considered the best (and therefore worthwhile preserving) from the original culture. Thus we find organized groups that maintain contact with the literature, arts, crafts, history of the country of origin, through lectures, conferences, libraries and even formal schooling at various levels including university. Ethnic associations promote ethnic participation and contribution through competition with other associations of similar cultural or social purposes: athletic, musical, literary, etc.

Whenever formal ethnic grouping takes place, publications in the mother language are likely to appear. These publications extend the functions of formal grouping enumerated above. They are

almost essential to first generation immigrants, and they serve as a link not only between individuals and communities of same ethnic origin and with the home-country but with the nation as a whole.

Incidentally and with regard to cultural maintenance and promotion, it has been noticed that the second generation new Canadian often enough loses interest in his parents' original culture, partly in order to achieve better socio-economic integration. When the latter has been successful, however, the third generation usually retraces identification with ancestral culture but less for socio-economic purposes than for broad cultural enrichment. This re-identification is consequently less general, more conscious and more objective. Similarly, occupational specialization and residential concentration decrease with each successful generation, thanks to our high degree of social and physical mobility.

The above formal ethnic grouping patterns are not uniformly common to all groups of immigrants nor to all individuals of the same background. The wide range of activities on the part of organized groups or of participation on the part of the individuals depends on the needs of ethnic persons as measured by both their home origin and the community where they are settling. Consonance between the two cultures or sub-cultures minimizes these needs.

For instance, immigrants from the British Isles usually do not feel the need to form cultural societies but sometimes will set up their own credit unions. German and Dutch immigrants seem to be more individualistic in their approach to social and economic adjustments. The social class or occupation of the immigrant himself has relevance. Business men, teachers, and middle-class people from most countries in general seem to be able to associate themselves directly with their counterparts in the new society whereas skilled workers tend to prefer the company of their own kinsmen. If the receiving community is tight and homogeneous, chances are there will be more formal associations. If, on the other hand, it is wide open and cosmopolitan, a group may not sense a need for strong formal organization. The number of immigrants simultaneously attempting adjustment in a particular locality has also some definite bearing. It is interesting for instance to compare various groups of Italian immigrants in Montreal and Toronto.

The functions and services of the formal group are usually temporary as far as most individuals are concerned, though perhaps permanent with regard to the group, particularly if newcomers keep on arriving or if a minority status is imposed on that particular ethnic group. In terms of the individual and to quote Dr. Frank Vallee, it all depends on the number of "portable" cultural and socio-economic assets that one brings from his mother country culture and social background. Those with less "portable" assets have to rely more on the support of their own people.

Historically, then, it seems evident that urban ethnic groupings, at least tolerated by the majority, have been useful and, in a large number of cases, essential to the successful adjustment of newly-landed Canadians.

In the light of the above facts and observations, let us now glance briefly at the particular experience of our Indian and Metis populations in terms of developing ethnic groups. Statistically and geographically speaking the pattern of distribution is identical to that of non-Anglo-Saxon Canadians in English-speaking Canada and non-French in Quebec. There are over a thousand and homogeneous Indian communities on reserves, a few hundred Metis settlements on the Prairies and an increasingly large number of individuals collecting in cities and towns across the whole country. However, it is quite evident, to anyone familiar with Indian and Metis problems, that the comparison ends there, except for a few Metis settlements of long-standing who have more or less followed the same development pattern of rural ethnic communities.

Outside of fishing villages of coastal British Columbia, most of our Indian and Metis communities are made up of families whose forefathers, if not themselves, were sociologically, and in part legally, restricted to the reserves and settlements. Though they were always acknowledged the right to live elsewhere in principle, they were talked into agreeing not to carry on with their traditional activities except on the areas set aside by the Crown for them, and called reserves, or in unoccupied Crown lands. They were forbidden to set up their teepees in areas occupied or owned by non-Indian individuals or institutions. If they wanted to move out of the reserve or settlement, they had to buy back a parcel of the land which they once owned in its entirety and which they had surrendered through the so-called treaties. Contrary therefore to our ethnic villages, our Indian and Metis reserves and settlements did not come into existence out of the free choice and enthusiasm of the founding generation. Said founders did not settle down freely and in a bold attempt to make a fresh start in life. They more or less grudgingly agreed to stay put because it was more and more difficult to live elsewhere and because this was the best way not to interfere with European settlement. In other words, they were not invited to build a new community and thus compete with other Canadian communities elsewhere. They were more or less herded and parked on the reserves to lead a sheltered existence. This process not only saved their ethnic entity and communal way of life; it reinforced their already strong group-cohesion and sense of separateness. Eventually, reserves and settlements have become "home" to Indians and Metis in the same way as the different countries of Europe were once home to most other Canadians, with this difference however, very significant in terms of motivation towards social and economic integration, namely, that the Indian migrating into non-Indian communities can always easily go back "home" when the attempt at integration fails and the going gets rough, which is not the case for immigrants from across the Atlantic.

Contrary to the usual ethnic local community, Indian and Metis settlements are responsible for very little locally except the birthrate. Practically all administration and other services (stores, trades, etc.) are in the hands of "outsiders", over which they have no direct control of any kind and who are usually at the end of a long chain of command and therefore incapable of identifying themselves whole-heartedly with the local human community where they live. Furthermore, most of the administra-

tive services and many of the others are provided, or at least controlled, by a special agency operating under its own law and which is not found elsewhere: The Indian Affairs Branch of the Federal Government.

It is evident therefore that no other community in Canada is organized on the same sociological pattern as a reserve-based Indian community. Hence, an Indian leaving his reserve and moving into a Canadian community is very ill-prepared to identify the institutions and agencies of this new community. If we keep in mind also that in most areas, the switch-over from a food-gathering, hunting and fishing economy has not been successfully accomplished, to the point of providing average living standards and economic independence, we must not be surprised if the same amount of standard schooling given to the Indian child, off or on the reserve, does not abilitate him to move out into non-Indian society as successfully as children from local ethnic communities. This is not due to a difference in brains but in patterns of educational growth.

Furthermore, most of the controlling factors imposed on the Indian community pay no respect to the traditional culture of the people. The few references in the classroom are not really praiseworthy nor is there any amount of objective cultural transmission carried out by the parents as in the case of immigrants in their homes. The Indian parents and Indian society at large are still punished for the illiteracy of their pre-Columbian ancestors. All knowledge about the past is stored up in books and museums hardly accessible to the average Indian. Nevertheless, Indian parents and communities succeed in instilling in Indian children a pride of race. They acknowledge themselves as descendants of a great people, with a worthwhile and valid philosophy and way of life that, in too many cases, have been upset and distorted by the invaders. As there is no objective confrontation of all these assumptions, the ethnic pride of young Indians, too often enough, is mostly subjective and illiterate, based on stories, interpretation of treaties and what have you, handed down by the old people. This makes for a kind of emotional complex which is very strong but does not provide a rational basis for successful motivation, selection and adjustment. As for the image created of his ethnic group by the mass media (press, radio, television and movies) it is far from being flattering in too many cases. The Indian child has very few heroes to look up to objectively.

Economically of course, the picture is even worse. Traditional occupations and skills are less and less remunerative and less than ever worthwhile passing on to the coming generation. As a result, the parents and the adult community as a whole, have lost their function and sense of competency in bringing up the next generation. They cannot equip their offsprings with the skills needed to earn a living. Furthermore, because there is less and less resources for an increasing population, a relief economy is setting in and threatens to settle permanently at least for another generation. As we know too well, from experience with our own society, this type of economy militates against the natural processes of family and community life, it stifles initiative and literally saps the vitality of the people.

The situation of urbanized Indians is not much rosier. We do find, in many of our cities and towns, areas of concentrated Indian occupancy. It is either downtown close to the railroad station or the bus depot or, on the contrary, at the fringe of the community, often enough near the dumps, for a free supply of building materials and of furniture. In either case, the red light district or occupations usually associated with such are not very far. True, this is, often enough, the area of first occupation for new Canadians, because of lower rents, and the proximity of commercial facilities, social agencies, factory work, etc. There is this difference however that our new Canadians or European immigrants constantly move out into better premises; each "promotion" pulling the next one along; furthermore, all the children attend school, precisely in order to climb in the social ladder. As a group, our urban Indianish population is constantly changing, but individuals and families either move back to the reserve or to another depressed area in the same city. Because of irregular residence, lack of clothes and motivation, many, if not most, children are not going to school: the older ones in particular get into all sorts of trouble.

There is nevertheless an increasing number of successful Indians. In most cases, however, they have had to disassociate themselves with their Indian kinsmen, if they wished to put any money aside and be accepted generally by the white man society. Hence, young graduate Indians placed by government officials are sometimes advised not to keep in touch with their fellow Indians, for fear either that they might slip into the slum marginal group or that associating with any kind of Indians, even the successful one, would lead to segregation. It is only in recent years that young urban Indians have been encouraged and helped to form associations of their own. The short experience of these associations has been encouraging. Indians have evidenced the same needs for togetherness and mutual help as are serviced by informal and formal types of ethnic grouping. An they have shown the same desire to compete collectively in activities common to all Canadians. As yet, however, urban Indian organizations are still very few in numbers and they do not reach more than a fraction of their potential membership and their so numerous needs.

All in all, though we, as a nation, have preached "integration" over the roof tops, we must admit that such an integration is far from taking place as far as our Indianish populations are concerned. In fact, it seems more and more evident that the very word "integration" is resented by a large number of Indians. They interpret it in the light of our historical record with them and sense that the way we deal with them spells our assimilation.

If we want to be frank with ourselves, we must confess that never have we truly and wholeheartedly acknowledged the right of Indian communities to readjust themselves as communities and to assume their normal role as breeders of Canadians. For

fear of being accused of segregation, we have unconsciously or not denied the Indian the right to persevere as an ethnic group, whether on the reserve or elsewhere. As a nation, and through the intermediary of our national government, we have taken it upon ourselves to rethread the natural products of Indian communities and groups, in such a way as to bring about complete assimilation into the general stream of our society. We have not been very successful in this attempt, partly because of half-hearted measures but mostly because of the inherent vitality and adaptability of the Indian people. His cultural transmission processes have taken into account all our attempts at assimilation and integration and devised appropriate defence mechanisms or "cultural antibiotics."

To those who know little about the Indians, and who feel sorry for the "poor devils," this may sound preposterous. Yet it is very true. The Indians have survived our treatment and our mismanagement because they have adjusted to such purposely. They have developed patterns of reacting to our various forms of paternalism and administration. And it is quite evident that they don't include us in their society on the same level as their own kinsmen nor relate themselves to us, Whites, as they do to one another. (Hence they are sometimes amazed when one of us deals with them not only in their own language but in their own thinking.) True their present-day culture is quite different from that of their forefathers; but it is consciously their own, not ours.

As a result, we have reached a dead-end, both the Indian people and Canadian nation. The population is increasing, the adjustment patterns are behind the times and too often negative. Wrongly adequating our native problem with that of the racial situation in the South, we have now embarked on a very urgent campaign for school integration, a campaign which, by its very specialness and exclusive application to Indian communities as such, segregates the Indian as the object of exclusive treatment not imposed on other ethnic groups or local communities. And we think that this will automatically solve the problem. We will definitely end up nowhere, unless we reconcile our policies and practices with those that experience has taught us in relation with other ethnic groups.

First we must recognize the permanency and validity of Indian community life, under one form or another and reckon on it. We must "habilitate" it economically, socially and politically in such a way as to produce citizens that are both Canadians and Indians at the same time. Whether this can be done on the present sites of Indian reserves and settlements is a different matter. But whatever we do, we must give a chance to Indian communities to function as other Canadian communities, and not strictly as breeders of children and problems for an increasing number of administrators.

We must therefore recognize the perseverance of the Indian cultural transmission process, through the family and the group. We must reinforce it and reactivate it by facing it squarely with the new challenges and the new opportunities. Instead of ignoring the Indian's pride in his tradition and his people, we must help him know his past and on the basis of his pride, challenge him to new levels of development in every field of human activity. This, we must do in particular when the Indian child is in school wherever that may be, we must consciously channel the Indian child's curiosity for the things of nature and through his native interest, guide him into mastering our minimum essential skills. When these approaches are used, as on the Six-Nations Reserve in Ontario, amazing results follow.

Occupationally, we must not be afraid to identify geographical and occupational areas where the Indian, because of his cultural background, would more successfully compete with the Whites. This would mean a certain amount of specialization for a generation or two, though it would not imply that all Indians should be in these specialized areas of work. I mean recognize the competence of Indians for certain occupations, (through transfer of traditional skills) and use it to give a larger number of them a foothold in our society, the same way we have done with so many thousand immigrants in these last twenty years, inviting them here because of their particular skills and knowing very well the next generation born and raised in Canada would do something else.

Finally, as I said yesterday, we must encourage and support the Indians in their efforts to group themselves regionally and nationally in order to study their problems, put pressure on various bodies including the general public, and promote their cultural growth in general. We have accepted that immigrants from Europe did all these things in order to help one another. We must remember that the Indians have less "portables" than most European immigrants, which means that they need more of the support of their own people, and that on the other hand, their pre-Columbian historical development did not, in too many cases, favour a long experience with elaborate social structure and formal associations. And even though, originally, they were as many different peoples as in Europe, let us not forget that our onw-way treatment of them all has more or less homogenized them and given them a common enemy to fact or a common task to perform. In brief, let us grant the Indians the same amenities and tolerances that are given other ethnic groups in our country. This is the least we can do in relation to the oldest inhabitants, the first and in many ways yet, the only true Canadians.

Thank you.

(Father Renaud, Director General of the Oblate Fathers' Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, Ottawa, Ontario delivered this address to the Third Annual Short Course on Northern Community Development at the Centre for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., April 14, 1961).

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